

**“BABEȘ-BOLYAI” UNIVERSITY
CLUJ-NAPOCA
FACULTY OF HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY
DOCTORAL SCHOOL “HISTORY. CIVILIZATION. CULTURE”**

**The State and the Roma in Socialist Romania.
An Oral History Research**

Doctoral Supervisor:

Prof. Univ. Dr. Doru Radosav

PhD Candidate:

Olariu Călin Andrei

Cluj-Napoca

2020

Contents

INTRODUCTION	4
Historiography.....	6
Oral History Methodology.....	17
Oral History as genre.....	20
An alternative modernity?.....	23
On the concept of power.....	25
Thesis outline.....	29
CHAPTER 1. Citizens in Training	33
1.1 Roma in Romania – a short historical overview.....	33
1.2 Policies towards the Roma community in the Soviet Union.....	37
1.3 The Soviet Model – Policies towards the Roma in Central and Eastern European socialist countries.....	40
1.4 Policies regarding the Roma during the 1950s and 1960s.....	43
1.5. Policies regarding Roma communities during the 1970s and 1980s.....	50
1.6. Conclusions.....	61
CHAPTER 2. Roma narratives on socialist assimilation policies	63
I. Sedentarisation of Roma communities.....	65
I.1. Sedentarisation measures in interwar Romania.....	65
I.2. Sedentarisation policy in Socialist Romania.....	68
I.3. Between central policies and local implementation.....	78
II. Becoming socialist workers.....	89
II.1. Roma industrial workers.....	94
II.2. Roma workers at collective farms.....	104
II.3. Craftsmen and “hecklers”. The Roma and the socialist shortage economy.....	107
III. Roma integration in the educational system.....	126
III.1. State discourse on Roma integration in the educational system.....	129
III.2. Everyday school life narratives.....	132
III.3. Traditional communities and school attendance.....	136
III.4. Formal professional training and Roma craftsmen.....	140
Conclusions.....	141

CHAPTER 3. State violence against the Roma	144
3.1. Decree 153/1970	149
3.2. On how to make sense of one's past – the use of genre in life-story interviews.....	160
3.3. Gold requisitions	171
3.4. Conclusions	184
CHAPTER 4. Nostalgia and dissonance. Everyday life in a Transylvanian town	186
4.1. Positive and negative consequences of socialist urban systematization policies	190
4.2. Everyday narratives of living in the Roma neighborhood.....	192
4.3. Memories of the past – nostalgia and dissonance	200
4.4. Social trauma and nostalgia.....	203
4.5. Conclusions	206
CONCLUSIONS	207
ANNEXES	212
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	255

Key words: Roma, communism, assimilation, memory, state, power

Summary

In this thesis, through an oral history research, I aim to make a contribution towards clarifying an underresearched subject in the Romanian historiography, the relationship between “the state” and the Roma during the Romanian socialist regime. At the end of the Second World War the Roma were mainly seen by the Romanian communist authorities as a social problem. During the 1950s, their deplorable social, cultural and economic situation was believed to be a consequence of their exploitation during previous historical periods. The main solution to the Roma problem was believed to be their assimilation into the new Romanian socialist society. To this end, three main measures were identified: a) proletarianization/ integration of the Roma in the Socialist economy, b) integration in the educational system, c) the sedentarisation of nomadic and semi-nomadic communities. These measures were the expressions of the interlinking of an imported soviet model with particular national circumstances and were to be put into practice through the work of several modern state institutions of social discipline such as: schools, the army, health services, etc., as well as through the coercive means employed by institutions like the Miliție and the Securitate. Ultimately, the goal was to impose on the Roma the new forms of knowledge developed by the socialist regime, to reshape them into what the state define as productive socialist citizens.

In my analysis I used concepts such as *power*, *state*, *modernity*, whose precise definitions were intensely debated in the historiography on the Soviet Union. Thus, following the theoretical considerations proposed by revisionist (and post-revisionist) historians, as well as philosophers such as Michelle Foucault, I focused my attention on local level interactions. As such, the state is not seen as a monolithic entity with complete control over the society and its bureaucratic apparatus but, on the contrary, as an actor with an incomplete control over policy implementation, especially at a local level.

At the same time, I investigated the memory of the communist period in Roma communities using the theoretical considerations proposed by the Italian school of oral history, particularly by the oral historian Alessandro Portelli, as well as concepts such as *nostalgia*, *dissonance* and *social trauma*. I focused my attention on two main topics: the way Roma remember and give meaning to the social assimilation policies implemented by the communist state and the traumatic memory of the repression exercised by the state against the Roma at different times in the period between 1948-1989.

As shown in the first chapter of the thesis, during the communist period in Romania, the Roma were mainly seen as a social category by state authorities. The criterion for the classification of the Roma groups was that of spatial mobility. Thus, three main Roma communities/ groups were identified: sedentary, nomadic and seminomadic. The latter two were depicted as the most problematic since mobility was associated with negative characteristics such as poverty, illiteracy, poor living conditions as well as a general lack of state control.

During the 1950s and 1960s no nation-wide program or legislation was elaborated to this end, but local authorities were tasked with the implementation of these social assimilation measures. In the late 1970s, in the context of a significant increase of the Roma population, central authorities conducted an evaluation of the integration of the Roma in the Romanian society which demonstrated the failure of this policy. According to reports drafted at that time, nomadic and semi-nomadic communities could still be found in the country, the majority of the work-able Roma refused to get employed, illiteracy was widespread and the adults refused to send their children to school, the living conditions of many Roma communities were deplorable even to the point of constituting a danger to public health. In the central authorities view, the main cause of this situation was the bad implementation of what they believed to be suitable policies. The responsibility for the situation of the Roma communities rested with party-state bureaucrats who did not do enough to help these communities.

However, as shown in the second chapter of the thesis, an analysis of power relations at the local level outlines the fact that the relationship between the state and the Roma was more complex. An analysis of oral history narratives on the communist assimilation policies represent an argument in favour of seeing the interaction between the socialist state and the Roma as a form of negotiation at a local level. One argument in this regard is the policy of sedentarisation of nomadic and semi-nomadic communities defined as a process meant not

only as one whose aim was to restrict one's spatial mobility but also as an instrument of changing Roma values, attitudes and traditional forms of social organization.

Firstly, local Roma population resisted the state's intervention within the limits permitted by an authoritarian political regime. Secondly, resistance appeared not only at the level of Roma communities but also among local non-Roma population. Thirdly, resistance also appeared at the level of local party-state bureaucrats. In practice, in the context of loosely enforced policies from central level, even in the cases when Roma were forced to settle in a locality, sedentarisation became a topic of negotiation between local [sometimes regional/central] party bureaucrats, local non-Roma communities and Roma communities.

The result was a form of partial sedentarisation and integration in the socialist society. In the case of many traditional Roma communities the process of sedentarisation had a limited impact on changing what the Roma believed to be the core characteristics of their communities. They quickly accepted changes which led to improving their living conditions such as building a house, benefiting from healthcare services, getting employed as tradesmen or agricultural laborers in local collective farms. They also agreed to receive formal education albeit it was always contested by different forms of local knowledge. However, regardless of their situation they firmly refused to abandon what they saw as their traditional culture and social organization. Through negotiation at a local level, they tried to keep their cultural distance from the state as well as to maintain their economic independence.

The analysis of the Roma narratives regarding formal employment in the official socialist economy during the 1960s and 1970s show that part of the Roma interviewees describe their integration in the socialist labor force as a social advancement opportunity. They construct their life story narratives as "an escape from poverty" and consider that having a workplace had a significant positive impact on their lives. However, their accounts do not represent a complete idealization of those times as interviewees also mention several negative aspects such as: long hours, hard manual labor, difficulty in caring for children, difficult working conditions, etc.

An opposing perspective is that of Roma, many from traditional communities, who in trying to maintain their distance from the state involved themselves in informal economic practices. These were made possible by the significant shortages produced by the socialist economy, a constant during the whole communist period, but more pronounced during the economic crisis of the 1980s. As such, many Roma practiced several forms of illegal economic activities such as: trading gold, different foreign merchandise, different goods stolen from state factories (often initially stolen by non-Roma employees). For a significant

number of Roma their involvement in the informal economy represented an essential way to escape state control and maintain economic, social and cultural distance from the state.

Roma integration in the educational system was hindered by a significant number of problems described in similar ways both in oral history narratives and in archival documents. Poverty was one of the main impediments, as families could not provide children with basic food, shoes and clothing so they could attend school, not to mention other items necessary for school related work. Because most of the Roma were living in settlements at the periphery of / nearby villages or towns children had to travel a considerable distance to school, which often proved to be impossible during winter. Another obstacle was represented by anti-Gypsyism and the prejudices of both non-Roma school colleagues, teachers and local bureaucrats. However, opposite accounts are also prevalent in some of the interviews. In spite of several measures identified by the authorities, Roma children access to education remained low in socialist Romania. Those who were able to follow school or alternative adult education courses have a general positive view regarding education and often talk about the importance of education for them and their children, drawing on everyday practical examples.

During the communist period different forms of state repression were a constant in the everyday experiences of almost all citizens regardless of one's ethnicity. Roma narratives on state violence in socialist Romania, presented in the third chapter of the thesis, represent a valuable complementary source to other non-Roma narratives. They vividly describe the negative impact on a personal and community level of abuses done by the states repressive institutions in different contexts, mentioning in particular the application of decree 153/1970 regarding social parasitism as well as several successive laws which regulated the ownership and commercialization of precious metals and foreign currency.

The oral history interviews collected in this thesis represent an important complementary historical source, essential for a better understanding of the Romanian communist period. As shown in the last chapter of the thesis, most of these recollections are characterized by nostalgia and dissonance. The Roma feel nostalgic about the communist past which is described as a period characterized by social security and opportunities for social advancement. At the same time, they did not forget and choose to freely talk about the more negative aspect of life during communism. Nostalgic and dissonant memories are not a consequence of an uncritical engagement with the socialist past. They are however the direct consequences of the Roma negative perception of the post-socialist present as well as the future.

Select bibliography

General works

1. ***, *Directivile Congresului al XI-lea al Partidului Comunist Român cu privire la Planul Cincinal 1976-1980 și liniile directoare ale dezvoltării economico-sociale a României pentru perioada 1981-1990*, Editura Politică, București, 1974.
2. ***, Helsinki Watch Report, *Destroying ethnic identity. The persecution of Gypsies in Romania*, Helsinki Watch, 1991.
3. ***, *Programul Partidului Comunist Român de făurire a societății socialiste multilateral dezvoltate și înaintare a României spre comunism*, Editura Politică, București, 1975.
4. ***, *Raport final*, Comisia Prezidențială pentru Analiza Dictaturii Comuniste din România, București, 2006.
5. ***, *Romano Butiq. Studiu despre mestesugurile rome*, broșură realizată în cadrul proiectului “Romano Cher – Casa Romilor”, 2013.
6. Achim Viorel, *Documente privind deportarea țiganilor în Transnistria*, Vol. I, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2004.
7. Achim Viorel, *The Roma in Romanian History*, Central European University Press, Budapest, 2013
8. Achim Viorel, *Țiganii în istoria României*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 1998 (first edition).
9. Alexandru Zub, *Mihail Kogălniceanu istoricul*, Editura Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza, Iași, 2012
10. Atkinson Robert, *Povestea vieții. Interviu*, Polirom, Iași, 2006.
11. Barany Zoltan, *The East European Gypsies: Regime Change, Marginality and Ethnopolitics*, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

12. Băcanu Mihai, *Țigani. Minoritate națională sau majoritate infracțională*, Bravo Press, București, 1996.
13. Becker Charles, Mendelsohn S. Joshua, Benderskaya Kseniya, *Russian urbanization in the Soviet and post-Soviet eras*, Human Settlements Group International Institute for Environment and Development, London, 2012.
14. Beier A.L., Ocobock Paul, *Cast Out: A History of Vagrancy and Homelessness in Global Perspective*, Ohio University Press, Athens, Ohio, 2009.
15. Betea Lavinia, Diac Cristiana, Mihai Florin-Răzvan, Țiu Ilarion, *Lungul drum spre nicăieri. Germanii din România deportați în URSS*, Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște, 2012.
16. Boda Adrian, „*Eram toți ca frații...*” *Romii în armată în timpul regimului communist. Interviuri de istorie orală*, Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2018.
17. Borșa Sanda, Croitor Mihai, *Colectivizarea agriculturii în România: mecanismele legislative ale subordonării lumii rurale (1949-1962)*, Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2009.
18. Bosomitu Ștefan, Burcea Mihai [coord.], *Spectrele lui Dej. Incursiuni în biografia și regimul unui dictator*, Polirom, Iași, 2012.
19. Bunescu Gheorghe (coord.), *Antologia legilor învățământului din România*, Institutul de Științe ale Educației, București, 2004.
20. Bunescu Ioana, *Roma in Europe. The politics of collective identity formation*, Malmo University, Sweden, Ashgate, 2014.
21. Burtea Vasile, *Rromii în sincronia și diacronia populațiilor de contact*, Lumina Lex, București, 2002.
22. Câmpeanu Pavel, *România: Coada pentru hrană. Un mod de viață*, Litera, București, 1994.
23. Chamberlain Mary, Thompson Paul (eds), *Narrative and Genre*, Routledge, London & New York, 2003.
24. Chelcea Ion, *Țigani din România, Monografie Etnografică*, Editura Institutului Central de Statistică, București, 1944.
25. Chis Vasile, Markus Olga, *The context for the study on Roma education from theory to empirical facts*, Educația 21, Casa Cărții de Știință, Cluj Napoca, 2008.
26. Clark Katerina, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1981.
27. Costea Ionuț, *Lazăr de la Rusca. Mitbiografia în comunism și postsocialism*, Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2008.

28. Crowe M. David, *A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia*, Palgrave Macmillan Ltd., New York, 2007.
29. Crowe M. David, *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe*, St. Martin's Griffin, New York, 1995.
30. Cucu Vasile, *Sistematizarea teritoriului și localităților din România. Repere geografice*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1977.
31. Donert Celia, *The Rights of the Roma: the struggle for citizenship in postwar Czechoslovakia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017.
32. Engebrigsten, Ada, *Exploring Gypsiness. Power, Exchange and Interdependence in a Transylvanian Village*, Berghahn Books, New York, 2007.
33. Fonseca Isabel, *Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies and Their Journey*, Vintage, 1996.
34. Fosztó László, *Diaspora and Nationalism: an Anthropological Approach to the International Romani Movement*, Regio, 2003.
35. Fosztó László, Fleck Gabor (eds.), *Incluziune si excluziune: studii de caz asupra comunitatilor de romi din Romania*, Editura Institutului Pentru Protectia Minoritatilor Nationale, Kriterion, Cluj-Napoca, 2009.
36. Fosztó László, *Ritual revitalization after socialism: community, personhood, and conversion among Roma in a Transylvanian village*, Lit Verlag, Berlin, 2009.
37. Foucault Michelle, *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*, Vintage Books, New York, 1991.
38. Foucault Michelle, *History of Madness*, Rutledge, London and New York, 2006
39. Foucault Michelle, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archeology of Medical Perception*, Rutledge, 1976.
40. Fraser Angus, *Țigarii*, Humanitas, București, 1998.
41. Fulbrook Mary, *The people's State. East German Society from Hitler to Honecker*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2005.
42. Gal Susan, Kligman Gail, *Politicile de gen în perioada postcomunistă*, Polirom, București, 2003.
43. Guy Will (ed.), *Between Past and Future. The Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001.
44. Hoffman L. David, Kotsonis Yanni (Eds.), *Russian Modernity. Politics, Knowledge, Practices*, Palgrave Macmillan, London and New York, 2000.
45. Ioanid Radu, Kelso Michelle, Cioabă Luminița, *Tragedia romilor deportați în Transnistria (1942-1945)*, Polirom, Iași, 2009.

46. Ioanid Radu, *Urbanizarea in Romania. Implicatii social-economice*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1978.
47. Iordachi Constantin, Dobrinu Dorin (Eds.), *Transforming Peasants, Property and Power: The Collectivization of the Agriculture in Romania, 1949-1962*, Central European University Press, Budapest, 2009.
48. James C. Scott, *Seeing like a state. How Certain Schemes to Improve Human Condition Have Failed*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1998.
49. Janesick Valerie J., *Oral history. For the qualitative researcher*, The Guilford Press, New York, London, 2010.
50. Kligman Gail, *The Politics of Duplicity: Controlling Reproduction in Ceausescu's Romania*, University of California Press, Berkeley CA, 1998.
51. Kligman Gail, Verdery Katherine, *Peasants under Siege. The Collectivization of the Romanian Agriculture, 1949-1962*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2011.
52. Kornai Janos, *Economics of Shortage*, North-Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam, New York, Oxford, 1980.
53. Kornai Janos, *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1992.
54. Kotkin Stephen, *Magnetic Mountain. Stalinism as a Civilization*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1997.
55. Ledeneva V. Alena, *Russia's Economy of Favours: Blat, Networking and Informal Exchange*, Cambridge University Press, 1998.
56. Marin Manuela (Ed.), *Romii și regimul communist din România. Marginalizare, integrare și opoziție*, Vol.I, Vol.II, Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2017.
57. Marin Manuela, *Între prezent și trecut: cultul personalității lui Nicolae Ceaușescu și opinia publică românească*, Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Mega, 2014.
58. Marin Manuela, *Originea și evoluția cultului personalității lui Nicolae Ceaușescu: 1965-1989*, Alba Iulia, Ed. Altip, 2008.
59. Mărginean Mara, *Aesthetic Mechanisms of Stalinization in Romanian Architecture: The Case of Hunedoara, 1947-1954*, thesis submitted to the College of Graduate Studies and Research, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.
60. Mărginean Mara, *Ferestre spre furnalul roșu. Urbanism și cotidian în Hunedoara și Călan (1945-1968)*, Polirom, Iași, 2015.
61. Mihăilescu Vintilă, Iancu Bogdan, Stroe Monica (Eds.), *Noi culturi. Noi antropologii*, Humanitas, București, 2012.

62. Mionel Viorel, *România ghetourilor urbane. Spațiul vicios al marginalizării, sărăciei și stigmatului*, Pro Universitaria, București, 2013.
63. Mitrache Constantin, Mitrache Cristian, *Drept penal român: partea generală*, Universul Juridic, București, 2010.
64. Morar-Vulcu Călin, *Republica își făurește oamenii. Construcția identităților politice în discursul oficial în România 1948-1965*, Eikon, Cluj-Napoca, 2007.
65. Năstasă Lucian, Varga Andrea (eds.), *Minoritățile etnoculturale, mărturii documentare. Țigani din România (1919-1944)*, Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, Cluj-Napoca, 2001.
66. O'Keeffe Brigid, *New Soviet Gypsies. Nationality, Performance, and Selfhood in the Early Soviet Union*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Buffalo, London, 2013.
67. Olariu Călin (Ed.), *Povestea mea - povestea noastră. Gaborii din județul Mureș*, Argonaut, Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2016.
68. Olivera Martin, *Romanes. Tradiția integrării la romii gabori din Transilvania*, Institutul pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, Cluj-Napoca, 2012.
69. Passerini Luisa, *Fascism in Popular Memory. The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009.
70. Per Ronnas, *Urbanization in Romania. A geography of social and economic change since independence*, The Economic Research Institute Stockholm School of Economics, 1984.
71. Pogany Istvan, *The Roma Cafe. Human Rights and the Plight of the Romani People*, Pluto Press, Sterling Virginia, 2004.
72. Pons Emmanuelle, *Țigani din România. O minoritate în tranziție*, Compania, București, 1999.
73. Pop Iulia, *Memorie și suferință. Considerații asupra literaturii memorialistice a universului concentraționar comunist*, Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2010.
74. Portelli Alessandro, *The Battle of Valle Giulia. Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1997.
75. Portelli Alessandro, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and other Stories. Form and Meaning in Oral History*, State University of New York Press, 1991.
76. Portelli Alessandro, *They say in Harlan County. An Oral History*, Oxford University Press, 2010
77. Radosav Doru, *Donbas, o istorie deportată*, Landsmannschaft der Sathmarer Schwaben in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1994.
78. Radosav Doru, *Istoria din Memorie*, Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2016.

79. Radu Cerasela, *From socialist governmentality to local governance: explaining differences in socio-economic practice among Roma in Romania*, CEU eTD Collection, Budapest, Hungary, 2007.
80. Robertson Douglas, Smyth James, McIntosh Ian, *Neighbourhood identity. People, time and place*, Stirling University, 2008.
81. Rogers Kim Lacy, Leydesdorff Selma, Dawson Graham (eds.), *Trauma and Life Stories*, Rutledge, London & New York, 1999.
82. Sala Gabriel, *Neamul țiganilor Gabori. Istorie, mentalități, tradiții*, Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 2007.
83. Sărău Gheorghe, *Rromii. Incursiune în istoria și limba lor*, Sigma, București, 2009.
84. Scott C. James, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1990
85. Scott C. James, *The art of not being governed. An Anarchist History of Southeast Asia*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2009.
86. Scott C. James, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1985
87. Sheftel Anna, Zembrzycki Stacey, *Oral history off the record. Toward an ethnography of practice*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2013.
88. Siegelbaum Lewis H. (ed.), *Borders of Socialism. Private Spheres of Soviet Russia*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2006.
89. Sora Andrei Florin, *Evoluția calificărilor din învățământul universitar românesc 1968-2011*, București, 2011.
90. Soulet Jean-François, *Istoria imediată*, Corint, București, 2000.
91. Stan Lavinia S. (Ed.), *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Orală, No. XVI - The Roma in Romania: Sharing a Traumatic past- Living in a problematic present*, Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2015.
92. Stephenson Svetlana, *Gangs of Russia. From the Streets to the Corridors of Power*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 2015.
93. Stewart Michael, *Vremea romilor*, Institutul pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, Cluj-Napoca, 2014.
94. Stewart Michael, *Vremea Romilor*, Institutul pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, Cluj-Napoca, 2014
95. Szelenyi Ivan, *Urban Inequalities under State Socialism*, Oxford University Press, London, 1983.

96. Todorova Maria (ed.) *Remembering Communism; genres of representation*, Social Science Research Council, New York, 2010.
97. Todorova Maria, Dimou Augusta, Troebst Stefan, *Remembering Communism. Private and Public Recollections of Lived Experience in Southeast Europe*, Central University Press, Budapest-New York, 2014.
98. Todorova Maria, Gille Zsuzsa (eds.) *Post-Communist Nostalgia*, Berghahn Books, New York, 2010.
99. Toma Stefánia, Fosztó László, *Spectrum. Cercetări sociale despre romi*, Editura Institutului Pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, Cluj-Napoca, 2011.
100. Tonkin Elizabeth, *Narrating our Past. The Social Construction of Oral History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992.
101. Vasile Valentin, *Viața cotidiană a românilor între anii 1941-1965*, Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște, 2014.
102. Verdery Katherine, *What was socialism, and what comes next?*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996
103. Vermeesch Peter, *The Romani Movement: Minority Politics and Ethnic Mobilization in Contemporary Central Europe*, Berghahn Books, 2007.
104. Vultur Smaranda, *Din radiografia represiunii: deportarea în Bărăgan: 1951-1956*, Mirton, Timișoara, 2011
105. Walkerdine Valerie, Jimenez Luis, *Gender, Work and Community After De-Industrialization; A Psychosocial Approach to Affect*, Palgrave, London and New York, 2012.
106. Yow Valerie Raleigh, *Oral history. A guide for the humanities and social sciences*, AltaMira Press, Oxford, 2005.
107. Zamfir Cătălin, *Indicatori privind comunitățile de romi din România*, Institutul de Cercetare a Calității Vieții, București, 2002.
108. Zamfir Cătălin, Preda Marian, *Romii în România*, Expert, București, 2002.
109. Zamfir Cătălin, *Țigani între ignorare și îngrijorare*, Alternative, București, 1993.

Articles

1. Achim Viorel, “Încercarea romilor din România de a obține statutul de naționalitate conlocuitoare (1948–1949)”, in *Revista istorică*, No. 5–6, 2010.

2. Antohi Sorin, "Putere, crimă și pedeapsă. Surveiller et Punir după douăzeci de ani", preface to Michelle Foucault, *A supraveghea și a pedepsi: nașterea închisorii*, Humanitas, București, 1997.
3. Anton Mioara, "Norme și reguli pentru societatea omului nou. Parazitismul social", in *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Contemporană*, nr. 13, 2014
4. Zoltan Barany, "Politics and the Roma in State-Socialist Eastern Europe", in *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, No.33, 2000.
5. Bartash Volha, "The sedentarisation of Roma in the Soviet Union after 1956: A case study from the former Belarussian Soviet Socialist Republic" in *Romani Studies*, 2015.
6. Beck Sam, "The Emergence of The Peasant-Worker in a Transylvanian Mountain Community", in *Dialectical Anthropology*, Vol. 1, No. 3, Elsevier Scientific Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1976.
7. Bogdan Ionela, "A Life Story is Also a Serious Business. Feminine Narratives during Communist years in the Town of Sebeș" in *Annual of Oral History, No. XVI - The Roma in Romania: Sharing a Traumatic past- Living in a problematic present*, Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2015.
8. Boia Aurel, "Integrarea țiganilor din Șanț (Năsăud) în comunitatea românească a satului", in *Sociologie românească*, III (1938).
9. Bolovan Ioan, Bolovan Sorina, "Contribuții privind structura etnică și confesională a Transilvaniei în sec. XX", in Sabin Manuilă, *Istorie și demografie, Studii privind societatea românească între secolele XVI-XX*, Centru de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 1995.
10. Bornat Joana, "Secondary analysis in reflexion: some experiences of re-use from an oral history perspective", in *Families, Relationships and Societies*, volume 2, number 2, July 2013.
11. Boym Svetlana, "Nostalgia and its Discontents", in *Hedgehog Review*, vol. 9 Issue 2, 2007.
12. Brubaker Rogers, Cooper Frederick, "Beyond 'identity'", in *Theory and Society*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Netherlands, 2000.
13. Burtea Vasile, "Marginalizare istorică și cooperare socială în cazul populației de Rromi", in *Revista de cercetări sociale*, No. 3, 1996.
14. Cosman Ioana, "How much is a Gypsy life worth. The Roma Holocaust in Romania: Past and Present", in *Anuarul de Istorie Orală*, No. XVI, Argonaut, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2015.

15. Costea Snejana Lavinia, "Jumping in freezing waters: Local Communities and Escapes on the Danube during the Cold War", in *Scholars in Dialogue. Multidisciplinary Approaches in Dealing with the Past in Transylvania; Transylvanian Review*, Vol.XXI, Supplement No.3, 2012
16. Creed W. Gerald, "Strange Bedfellows: Socialist Nostalgia and Neoliberalism in Bulgaria", in Todorova Maria, Gile Zsuzsa (eds.), *Post-communist Nostalgia*, Berghahn Books, New York, Oxford, 2010.
17. Donert Celia, "'The struggle for the soul of the Gypsy': marginality and mass mobilization in Stalinist Czechoslovakia", in *Social History*, 2008.
18. Fitzpatrick Sheila, "Revisionism in Soviet History", in *History and Theory*, Vol.6, No. 4, 2007, pp.77-91;
19. Fitzpatrick Sheila, "Russia's Twentieth Century in History and Historiography", in *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol.46, Nr.2, 2000
20. Foucault Michelle, "Governmentality", lecture at College de France (1978) published in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, Peter Miller, *The Foucault Effect, Studies in Governmentality*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1991.
21. Frello Birgitta, "'Inappropriate' Europeans. On fear, space and Roma mobility", in Marcel Endres, Katharina Manderscheid and Christophe Mincke (Eds.), *The Mobilities Paradigm. Discourses and ideologies*, Routledge, London, 2016.
22. Goina Călin, "O încercare de istorie socială: romii din Sântana, județul Arad", in Kiss Tamas, Foszto Laszlo, Fleck Gabor (eds.), *Incluziune si excluziune: studii de caz asupra comunitatilor de romi din Romania*, Editura Institutului Pentru Studiarea Problemelor Minoritatilor Nationale, Kriterion, Cluj-Napoca, 2009.
23. Haller Istvan: "Lynching is not a crime: mob violence against Roma in post-Ceaușescu Romania", in *Roma Rights*, vol. I, 1998
24. Hedin Astrid, "Stalinism as a Civilization: New perspectives on Communist Regimes", in *Political Studies Review*, Vol.2, issue 2.
25. Hellbeck Jochen, "Fashioning the Stalinist Soul: The Diary of Stepan Podlubnyi, 1931-9", in Sheila Fitzpatrick (ed.) *Stalinism. New Directions*, Routledge, London and New York, 2000.
26. Ionuț Costea, "Comunitatea Romă: între iertare și afirmarea conștiinței istorice", in Stan L., Halfdanarson G. (Eds.), *Untold Stories. Oral Histories of the Roma People in Romania*, in evaluation.

27. Iordachi Constantin, Dobrinu Dorin, "The Collectivization of Agriculture in Romania, 1949-1962", in Constantin Iordachi, Arnd Bauerkämper, *The Collectivization of Agriculture in Communist Eastern Europe: Comparison and Entanglements*, Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur, Berlin.
28. Lăcătușu Dumitru, "Miliția RPR între 1949-1960", in *Anuarul Institutului de Investigare a Crimelor Comunismului în România*, Vol.III/2008, Polirom, București.
29. Lepore Jill, "Historians who love too much: Reflections on microhistory and biography", in *The Journal of American History*, June 2001.
30. Levinson Martin P., Sparkes Andrew C., "Gypsy Identity and Orientations to Space", in *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 2004.
31. Marin Manuela, "Between Memory and Nostalgia: The Image of Communism in Romanian Popular Culture. A Case Study of Libertatea Newspaper" in *Palimpsest*, No. 5, Grudzien 2013.
32. Marin Manuela, "Re-Assessing post-communist nostalgia in Romania: chronological framework and opinion polls", in *Twentieth Century Communism. A Journal of International History, Memory and Nostalgia*, Issue 11, Lawrence & Wishart, 2016.
33. Marin Manuela, "Resisting the State at the Periphery: Roma People in Communist Romania" in Stan L., Halfdanarsson G. (Eds.), *Untold Stories. Oral histories of the Roma People in Romania*, under evaluation
34. Marin Manuela, "Un prieten devotat nouă: Ioan Cioabă și Securitatea comunistă" in Lucian Vasile, Constantin Vasilescu, Alina Urs (Eds.), *Traversând comunismul. Conviețuire, conformism, compromis*, Polirom, Iasi, 2016.
35. Marin Manuela, "Constructing Cultural Identities in Communist Romania: The Case of People's Letters", in *Interstudies*, 11 (1), Alma Mater Publishing House, Bacău, 2012.
36. Marushiakova Elena, Popov Vesselin, "Historical and Ethnographic Background. Gypsies, Roma, Sinti.", in Guy, W. (Ed.) *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, 2001.
37. Matei Petre, "Deportările romilor din Pitești în Transnistria (1942)", in *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări*, Vol.IX, 2017
38. Matras Yaron, "Romani Migrations in the Post-Communist Era: Their Historical and Political Significance", in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. XIII, Nr.2.
39. Momanu Mariana, Samoilă Magda-Elena, "Adult education in the context of the communist education reform in Romania: Policies, institutions and Publications (1945-1955)", in *Procedia- Social and Behavioral Sciences*, no. 149, Elsevier Ltd., 2014.

40. Mureșan Maria, “Economia României în anii socialismului. Un model de dezvoltare de tip extensiv”, in Bosomitu Ștefan, Burcea Mihai [coord.], *Spectrele lui Dej. Incursiuni în biografia și regimul unui dictator*, Polirom, Iași, 2012.
41. Neagoe-Pleșa Elis, Pleșa Liviu, “Culte neoprotestante din România în perioada 1975-1989,” in Adrian Nicolae Petcu (coord.), *Partidul Securitatea și Cultele, 1945-1989*, Nemira, București, 2005.
42. Nistor Diana-Alexandra, “Postponed identities. Generations of Cortorari Gypsies in post-war Transylvania – wrinkled traditions and attempts towards ‘modernization’”, in *Anuarul de Istorie Orală*, No. XVI, Argonaut, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2015.
43. Olariu Călin, “Urban construction patterns in the city of Cluj, 1952-1965” in *Studia Historia*, Issue no. 2, 2015.
44. Olariu Călin, “We, too, were there! Roma people’s remembrance of the Socialist City. Space, Memory and Oral History” in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Orală*, no. XVII, Cluj-Napoca, 2016.
45. Păun I. Dominica, “Țigani în viața satului Cornova”, în „Arhiva pentru Știință și Reformă Socială”, X (1932).
46. Petrescu Dragoș, “Selective memories of Communism. Remembering Ceaușescu’s ‘socialism’ in post-1989 Romania”, in Anieszka Gasiór, Agnieszka Halemba, Stefan Troebst, *Gebrochene Kontinuitäten. Transnationalität in den Erinnerungskulturen Ostmitteleuropas im 20. Jahrhundert*, Bohlau Verlag Köln Weimar Wien, 2014
47. Petrovic Tanja, “Officers without and Army: Memories of Socialism and Everyday Strategies in Post-Socialist Slovenia”, in Brenda Luthar, Marusa Puskin, *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, New Academia Publishing, Washington DC, 2010.
48. Plainer Zsuzsa, “What to give in return? Suspicion in a Roma shantytown from Romania”, in *Working Papers In Romanian Minority Studies*, No. 41, Institutul pentru Studiarea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, Cluj-Napoca, 2011.
49. Portelli Alessandro, “Form and Meaning of Historical Representation. The battle of Evarts and the Battle of Crummies (Kentucky 1931, 1941),” in Portelli Alessandro, *The Battle of Valle Giulia. Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1997.

50. Portelli Alessandro, "Philosophy and the Facts. Subjectivity and Narrative Form in Autobiography and Oral History," in Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia. Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1997.
51. Portelli Alessandro, "Oral History as Genre", in Mary Chamberlain, Paul Thompson (eds), *Narrative and Genre*, Rutledge, London & New York, 2003.
52. Portelli Alessandro, "The Best Garbage Men in Town: Life and Times of Valtèro Peppoloni, Worker", in *Alessandro Portelli, The Death of Luigi Transtulli, and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, State University of New York Press, New York, 1991.
53. Portelli Alessandro, "Uchronic dreams: Working-Class Memory and Possible Worlds", in *Portelli Alessandro, The Death of Luigi Transtulli, and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*, State University of New York Press, New York, 1991.
54. Preda Mihaela-Daniela, "Demographic Behaviour of the Roma Population - Between Tradition and Modernity. Case study: Oltenia region, Romania", *Journal of Studies and Research in Human Geography*, 2010.
55. Pyrhonen Heta, „Genre,” in David Herman (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012.
56. Radosav Doru, "De la locurile memoriei la memoria locurilor", in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Orală*, No. XI, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2011.
57. Radosav Doru, "De la mărturia orală la depoziție sau două modalități de apropiere (asumpție) a trecutului," in *Anuarul de Istorie Orală*, nr. X, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2008.
58. Rosenberg Clifford, "Population Politics, Power and the Problem of Modernity in Stephen Kotkin's Magnetic Mountain", in *Contemporary European History*, vol. 23 (2) , 2014.
59. Shopes Linda, "Editing Oral History for Publication", *Oral History Forum d'histoire orale* 31, 2011.
60. Solimene Marco, "The challenge of defining the object of study. The case study of a group of Bosnian Roma", in *Rannsóknir í félagsvísindum XIII*, Reykjavík, 2012.
61. Solimene Marco, "These Romanians have ruined Italy. Xoraxane Roma, Romanian Roma and Rome", in *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, nov. 2011.
62. Sora Andrei Florin, "Politizare și politehnizare în România comunistă. Repere legislative privind învățământul superior (1948-1989)", in *Arhivele Olteniei*, serie nouă, nr. 27, 2013.

63. Stan Lavinia S., "Sharing a broken umbrella. Roma life-stories in communist Romania", in *Anuarul de Istorie Orala*, No. XVI, Argonaut, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2015.
64. Stewart Michael, Stan Răzvan, "Collectivization and Resistance in the Shepherding Village of Poiana Sibiului (Sibiu Region)", in Iordachi Constantin, Dobrinicu Dorin (Eds.), *Transforming Peasants, Property and Power: The Collectivization of the Agriculture in Romania, 1949-1962*.
65. Suditu Bogdan, Vâlceanu Daniel-Gabriel, "Informal settlements and squatting in Romania: socio-spatial patterns and typologies", in *Human Geographies – Journal of Studies and Research in Human Geography*, 2013.
66. Sztompka Piotr, "Cultural Trauma. The Other Face of Social Change" in *European Journal of Social Theory* 3 (4).
67. Tekpetey Korkor Bernice, Afful Archibald Joseph Benjamin, "Oral testimonies among Christians on a University Campus in Ghana", in *The International Journal of Language Society and Culture*, Issue 32, 2011.
68. Thompson Paul, "The voice of the past. Oral history", in Perks Robert, Thomson Alistair, *The Oral History Reader*, Routledge, London, 2006.
69. Thomson Alistair, "Fifty years on: An international perspective on oral history", in *The Journal of American History*, September 1998.
70. Țiu Ilarion, "Ceașescu și problema sistematizării rurale" in *Sfera politicii*, Vol. XXII, No. 2 (178), March- April 2014.
71. Troc Gabriel, "Transnational migration and Roma self-identity: two case studies", in *Studia UBB Sociologia*, LVII, 2, 2012.
72. Turnock D., "The changing Romanian countryside: the Ceausescu epoch and prospects for change following the revolution" in *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Vol. 9, 1991.
73. Vasile Cristian, "Sistemul de învățământ românesc în epoca stalinistă (1947-1953)", in *Revista Istorică*, tom XX, nr.1-2, 2009.
74. Vasile Cristian, "Towards a New Law on Education: Some Reflections Regarding the Communist Educational Policies under the Ceausescu Regime", in *Revista Istorică*, tom XXV, nr. 5-6, 2014.
75. Villa Eliana, "The Cultural Evolution of Roma Population in Romania: From the Inter-War Period to Ceausescu Dictatorship" in *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 3, January 2012.

76. Vincze Enikő (Ed.), "Spatialization and racialization of social exclusion. The social and cultural formation of 'gypsy ghettos' in Romania in a European context", in *Studia Universitas Babeș-Bolyai*, Vol. LVIII, Issue no. 2, 2013.
77. Zăloagă Marian, "Mobilitatea țiganilor: despre implicațiile politico-ideologice și practice ale unor concepte" in *Studia Universitatis „Petru Maior”, Historia*, Târgu Mureș, 2006.

PhD. Theses

1. Bogdan Ionela, *The Interlinking of Gender, State Policies and Lived Experience Among Romanian Roma Women during the Communist Regime. An Oral History Research*, PhD. Diss., Babeș Bolyai University, Cluj Napoca, 2018.
2. Nistor Diana, *Centre and Periphery. An Oral History of the Roma Communities Between Rural and Urban Areas in Post Second World War Transylvania*, PhD. Diss., Babeș Bolyai University, Cluj Napoca, 2018.
3. Onaciu Vlad, *Societatea Penuriei; Comunismul românesc și lipsurile sale. Muncitorii din Cluj în anii '60 și '70*, PhD. Diss., Babeș Bolyai University, Cluj Napoca, 2017.
4. Tesăr Cătălina-Constantina, "*Women Married off to Chalices*": *Gender, Kinship and Wealth among Romanian Cortorari Gypsies*, PhD. Diss, University College London, Department of Anthropology, 2012.
5. Thorne Benjamin, *The Anxiety of Proximity: The "Gypsy Question" in Romanian Society, 1934-1944 and Beyond*, PhD diss, Indiana University, 2012.
6. Voiculescu Cerasela, *Questioning Mentalities of Governance: A History of Power Relations among the Roma in Romania*, PhD. Diss., University of Edinburgh, 2013.

Statistics

1. ***, *Recensământul populației din 21 februarie 1956. Rezultate generale*, Direcția Centrală de Statistică, București, 1959.
2. ***, *Recensământul populației și al locuințelor din 5 ianuarie 1977*, Volumul I: "Populație - structura demografică", Direcția Centrală de Statistică, București, 1980.
3. ***, *Recensământul populației și al locuințelor din 7 ianuarie 1992*, Volumul I: "Populație - structura demografică", Comisia Națională pentru Statistică, București, 1994.

Archival Sources

1. Arhivele Nationale Istorice Centrale (hereafter: ANIC), *Archive of the Council of Ministers, the State's Undersecretary's Office for Nationalities*, file 1929/1952.
2. ANIC, *Archive of the Council of Ministers, the State's Undersecretary's Office for Nationalities*, file 1749.
3. ANIC, *CC of Romanian Communist Party - Organisational Department*, file 23/1977.
4. Arhiva Consiliului Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității, *Documentary fund*, file 144, vol.15.

Oral History Interviews

1. A.A. (anonymous), interview by the author, audio file no.1212, OHIA, Căpâlna, Alba County, July 30, 2015.
2. Alexandru Orbulescu, interview by Ionela Bogdan, audio file, no.1405, OHIA, Eșelnița, Mehedinți County, August 18, 2015.
3. Alexandru Virag, interview by Sînziana Preda, audio file, no.1176, OHIA, Timișoara, Timiș County, July 16, 2015.
4. Anghel Bidilă, interview by Ionela Bogdan, audio file no.1542, OHIA, Toflea, Galați County, July 19, 2016.
5. Anton Căldărar, Căldărar Paraschiva, interview by Valentin Orga and Cristea Nicolae audio file, no. 1081, OHIA, Cluj-Napoca, Cluj County, May 24, 2015.
6. Anton Căldărar, interview by Valentin Orga, audio file, no. 1081, OHIA, Brateiu, Sibiu County, November 27, 2015.
7. B.O. (anonymous), Burcea Ștefan, interview by the author, audio file no.1144, OHIA, Budiu Mic, Mureș County, July 6, 2015.
8. B.Q. (anonymous), interview by the author, Ionela Bogdan and Diana Nistor, audio file, no. 1151, OHIA, Ceuașu de Câmpie, Mureș County, July 8, 2015.
9. B.T. (anonymous), interview by Diana Nistor, Ionela Bogdan and Lavinia Costea, audio file, no. 1143, OHIA, Crăcinești, Mureș County, July 4, 2015.
10. Banu Gabor, interview by the author et.all., audio file, no.1145, OHIA, Crăciunești, Mureș County, July 6, 2015.
11. Braghidin Marcu, interview by the author, audio file, no.1207, OHIA, Sebeșel, Alba County, July 29th, 2015.
12. Bratu Ion, interview by Diana Nistor and Adrian Boda, audio file, no. 1557, OHIA, Andrașești, Ialomița County, August 2, 2016.

13. Cătălina Gabor, interview by Diana Nistor, audio file, no. 1150, OHIA, Tg. Mureș, Mureș County, July 7, 2015.
14. D.J. (anonymous), interview by Ionela Bogdan, audio file no.1550, OHIA, Toflea, Galați County, July 21 2016.
15. D.X. (anonymous), interview by Ionela Bogdan, audio file, no. 1638, OHIA, Crăcăoani, Neamț County, September 2, 2016.
16. Danciu Grancea, Danciu Elisabeta, Vetuța Grancea, interview by Sînziana Preda, audio file, no. 1100, OHIA, Porumbacu de Jos, Sibiu County, June 5, 2015.
17. Dănilă Clopotar, interview by Diana Nistor and Ionela Bogdan, audio and video file, no.1075, Oral History Institute Archives, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, (further OHIA), Merghindeal, Sibiu County, May 20 , 2015
18. Dincă Gicu, interview by Ionela Bogdan, audio file no.1546, OHIA, Toflea, Galați County, July 21, 2016.
19. Dodoc Elisabeta, interview by the author, audio file no.1174, OHIA, Loman, Alba County, July 31, 2015.
20. Dumitru Paulina, interview by Lavinia Costea, audio file no.1395, OHIA, Eșelnița, Mehedinți County, August 18, 2015.
21. Elena Muntean, interview by Adrian Boda, audio file, no.1526, OHIA, Ciopea, Hunedoara County, July 14, 2016.
22. Elisabeta Ciuculescu, interview by Lavinia Costea, audio file, no.1393, OHIA, Eșelnița, Mehedinți County, August 18, 2015.
23. Floarea Cercea, interview by Ionela Bogdan, audio file, no.1335, OHIA, Bechet, Dolj County, August 11, 2015.
24. Gabor Cătălina, interview by Diana Nistor, audio file no.1150, OHIA, Târgu Mureș, Mureș County, July 7, 2015.
25. Gabor Matei, interview by the author, Diana Nistor and Ionela Bogdan, audio file no. 1147, OHIA, Budiu Mic, Mureș County, July 7, 2015.
26. Gabor Rusu, interview by Lavinia Costea and Ionela Bogdan, file no.1137, OHIA, Crăciunești, Mureș County, July 2, 2015.
27. Gabor Tereza, interview Diana Nistor, audio file no.1148, OHIA, Târgu Mureș, Mureș County, July 7, 2015.
28. Horko Bella, interview by Diana Nistor, audio file no. 1141, OHIA, Satu Nou, Mureș County, July 3 2015.

29. Ileana Mihai, interview by Ionela Bogdan, Diana Nistor, audio file no.1325, OHIA, Strehaia, Mehedinți County, August 9, 2015.
30. Ioan Adam, interview by Lavinia Costea, audio file no.1136, OHIA, Tirimia, Mureș County, July 1, 2015.
31. Jurj Maria, interview by Cristea Nicolae, audio file no.1400, OHIA, Eșelnița, Mehedinți County, August 18, 2015.
32. Margareta Iancu, interview by Lavinia Costea, audio file no.1057, OHIA, Sebeș, Alba County, February 7, 2015.
33. Mărginean Ioan, interview by the author, audio file no.1190, OHIA, Răchita, Alba County, July 28, 2015.
34. Mărginean Zaheu, interview by the author, audio file no.1209, OHIA, Sebeșel, Alba County, July 29, 2015.
35. Maria Căldărar, interview by Diana Nistor, audio file no.1084, OHIA, Cincu, Brașov County, June 3 2015.
36. Maria Căldărar, interview by Diana Nistor, audio file, no. 1095, OHIA, Ucea de Jos, Brașov County, June 5, 2015.
37. Maria Dănuț, interview by the author and Ionela Bogdan, audio file no. 1055, OHIA, Sebeș, Alba County, February 6 2015.
38. Mărioara Mihai, interview by Lania Costea, audio file no. 1326, OHIA, Strehaia, Mehedinți County, August 9, 2015.
39. Mărioara Muntean, interview by the author and Ionela Bogdan, audio file no. 1060, OHIA, Sebeș, Alba County, February 7 2015.
40. Mihaiu Bimbai, interview by Petre Petcuț, audio file no.1320, OHIA, Bistreț, Dolj County, August 8, 2015.
41. Muntean Augustin, interview by Adrian Boda, audio file no.1525, OHIA, Ciopea, Hunedoara County, July 14, 2016.
42. Muntean Dumitru, interview by Valentin Orga, audio file no. 1527, OHIA, Ciopea, Hunedoara County, July 14, 2016.
43. Nani Cianghir, interview Lavinia Costea, audio file no.1418, OHIA, Șimian, Mehedinți County, August 19, 2015.
44. Nicolae Cercea, interview by Ionela Bogdan, audio file, no. 1088, OHIA, Cincu, Brasov County, June 6, 2015.
45. Nistor Nicu, interview by Diana Nistor, audio file no.1277, OHIA, Craiova, Dolj County, August 13, 2015.

46. Orbulescu Alexandru, interview by Lavinia Costea, audio file no.1398, OHIA, Eșelnița, Mehedinți County, August 18, 2015.
47. Orbulescu Cornelia, interview by Ionela Bogdan, audio file no.1391, OHIA, Eșelnița, Mehedinți County, August 17, 2015.
48. Orbulescu Vasilica, interview by Cristea Nicolae, audio file no.1392, OHIA, Eșelnița, Mehedinți County, August 18, 2015.
49. Radu Dănuț, interview by the author, audio file no.1223, OHIA, Sebeș, Alba County, July 31, 2015.
50. Rupi Gabor, interview by the author and Ionela Bogdan, audio file, no.1149, OHIA, Târgu Mureș, Mureș County, July 7, 2015.
51. Simion Elisabeta, interview by Nicolae Cristea, audio and video file, no.1403, OHIA, Eșelnița, Mehedinți County, August 18, 2015.
52. Ștefan Burcea, interview by Diana Nistor and Ionela Bogdan, audio file, no.1138, OHIA, Crăciunești, Mureș County, July 2, 2015.
53. Ștefan Ioan, interview by Cristea Nicolae, audio file no.1278, OHIA, Măguri, Timiș County, August 21, 2015.
54. Stoica Iacob, interview by Diana Nistor, Dorin Pop, audio file no. 1058, OHIA, Sebeș, Alba County, February 7 2015.
55. Ursu Emilian, interview by the author, audio file no.1230, OHIA, Loman, Alba County, July 31, 2015.
56. Valer Dodoc, interview by Adrian Boda, audio file, no.1229, OHIA, Loman, Alba County, July 31, 2015.
57. Valeria Ursu, interview by Diana Nistor, audio file no. 1232, OHIA, Loman, Alba County, June 31, 2015.
58. Vasile Drăgoiu, interview by the author and Ionela Bogdan, audio file no. 1051, OHIA, Sebeș, Alba County, February 6 2015.
59. Zamora Gabriela, interview by the author, audio file no.1216, OHIA, Căpâlna, Alba County, July 30, 2015.